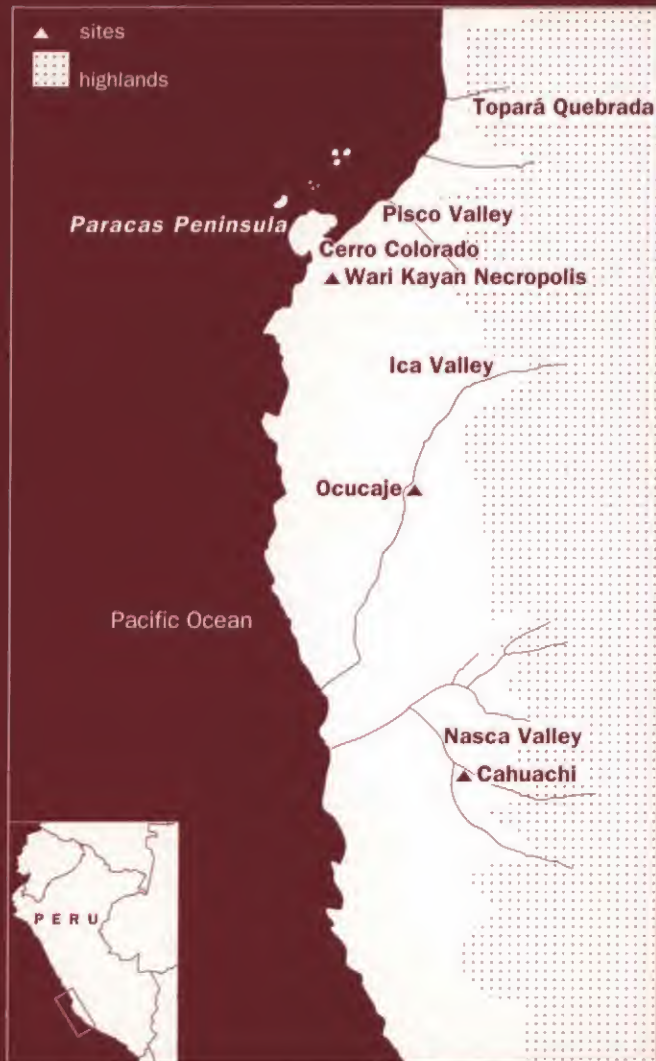


Ancient Peruvian Mantles, 300 B.C. – A.D. 200





**Ancient Peruvian Mantles,
300 B.C.–A.D. 200**

February 23 through August 13, 1995

The exhibition is made possible
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Oceania, and the Americas.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig.1

Ancient Peruvian Mantles, 300 B.C.–A.D. 200

Mantles, the rectangular wrapping cloths found on two-thousand-year-old funerary bundles from the south coast, are impressive demonstrations of the ancient Peruvian arts of needle and loom. Often bordered or intricately patterned, they carry a detailed expression of the ancient imagery in large figures (fig. 1) or a full range of symmetrical and color patterns in repeated small figures (figs. 3, 8). Miniature and small mantles are sometimes included within the onionlike layers of cloth that wrap the deceased or accompany the buried bundle. A few gigantic mantles seem to relate to the girth of exceptionally large bundles rather than to the body size of humans. The range of mantle dimensions suggests these garments have a special relation to the funerary context in which they are found, though many could have been worn before being reused as offerings. They are made in the natural hues of cotton or camelid fiber (wool) or dyed in a range of strong colors. Red, the color of blood, is the most conspicuous of the applied colors, a seemingly appropriate choice for decorated cloth accompanying burials.

The mantles and related textiles in this exhibition represent works encountered at two major, but quite different, archaeological sites: Ocucaje in the lower Ica Valley and the Necropolis of Wari Kayan (also known as the Paracas Necropolis) on the Paracas Peninsula. The fabrics span a five-century period, from 300 B.C. to A.D. 200,¹ with the earlier, more varied mantles reflecting styles from Ocucaje and the later, embroidered mantles reflecting those of the Wari Kayan Necropolis.

The South Coast of Peru

The coastal desert of southern Peru is awe-inspiring in its barrenness: sweeping vistas of sand interrupted by occasional river valleys, rivers that may run to the coast for only a few months of the year. Despite the seemingly inhospitable landscape, various groups of people lived here two thousand years ago, fishing along the Pacific coast, farming the irrigated flanks of rivers or underground streams, and hunting in the marginal lands. They left a vivid record of their

deaths and funerary practices, particularly in their decorated textiles. The very aridity that must have made their lives precarious has preserved the textile art in which they were enshrouded in death.

The burials of the Paracas Peninsula, the Pisco Valley to the north, and the Ica Valley to the south reflect several different artistic traditions at the same sites, sometimes within the same bundle. The available artifact assemblages suggest a complex interaction between distinct cultural groups—whether it was conquest, coexistence, merging over time, trade, tribute, or another form of exchange is difficult to discern. In broad terms, the archaeological record indicates that the population of the Paracas Peninsula–Ica Valley area developed a distinct regionalism during this time, which was followed by incursions into the area by the northern Topará people, who were then decisively supplanted by the Nasca people from the south.²

Mantles: Clothes for the “Living”

A mantle occupies the outermost position on the funerary bundles from the south coast, just below a mat or coarse covering. It is draped around the “shoulders” of the bundle, as if it were the outer garment of a seated effigy. The bundle is given a “false head” as well. Padded and painted faces (checklist 6) topped with headbands and feather

headdresses are favored at Ocucaje. At the Wari Kayan Necropolis, the head of the effigy bundle is a more rudimentary topknot of bunched wrapping cloth encircled by one or more headbands and adorned with feathered plumes, wigs, or fox skins. Most have a semicircular feathered fan placed on the outer mantle in the area of the effigy’s “heart” (fig. 2), a heart/fan association that is explicit in the embroidered images. Arranged around the bundle may be staffs or weapons, as well as food and drink in cloth-wrapped baskets or ceramic bowls and bottles. The effigy “lives”: it not only has a head, heart, clothing, and weapons, but it also is supplied with sustenance.



Fig. 2

Fig. 3



The Textiles of Ocucaje

The earlier mantles in this exhibition are in the styles of textiles known to come from Ocucaje in the Ica Valley. Located about thirty miles upward from the coast, Ocucaje appears to have been a regional center of some importance. The earliest textiles from Ocucaje exhibit vestiges of influence from the distant site of Chavin, located in the northern highlands of Peru. Fanged felines, birds with ripping beaks and talons, or humans sharing the powerful traits of large predators are the principal Chavin images. They are repeated, sometimes appearing less fierce, in versions created on the south coast (fig. 7).

With the waning of Chavin influence, the constellation of images and fabric production techniques at Ocucaje reflects a tradition that is apparently local in origin.³ Figures with large heads, grinning mouths, and concentric eyes are depicted using fabric techniques that work the pattern into the structure of the cloth. The distinctive head, bodiless in earlier representations, is attached to various animal or human bodies and often sprouts serpentine streamers. Thick cloth, made in two or three interpenetrating layers (checklist 2), and delicate openworks, like gauze weaves and interlinked sprang (fig. 1), depict the so-called Oculate Being, which is also represented on ceramics (checklist 3).

A range of garment types, including mantles, tunics, turbans, and hoods (checklist 5), is known from Ocucaje. Like the hood, some textiles in this constellation have patterns of angular serpents in conformations that duplicate the motions of threads in fabric structures, but in large scale. This class of patterns occurs on the earlier, Chavin-related textiles as well. Embroidered textiles are not uncommon at Ocucaje, where several styles of embroidery, possibly later and influenced by different artistic traditions, occur. Linear-style embroidery at Ocucaje is usually limited to borders and done in dark colors, in contrast to the brilliantly embroidered examples from the peninsular site of Wari Kayan.

Textiles of the Necropolis of Wari Kayan

Embroidered textiles are the outstanding art form from the Necropolis of Wari Kayan and mantles are their largest expression.⁴ This astounding site was excavated in the late 1920s by Julio C. Tello and his team. They unearthed 429 funerary bundles on the lower flank of a hill called Cerro Colorado on the Paracas Peninsula. The bundles in this cache were packed together in two nuclei located within earlier habitation structures and often arranged with several smaller bundles around or above larger ones.⁵ The 33 largest bundles and some of the 45 medium-sized bundles contained the majority of the elaborately decorated mantles, which are similar to the three

Fig. 4



embroidered examples in this exhibition (figs. 3, 6, 8).

Small numbers of garments in gauze, double cloth, and featherwork, as well as headbands made in diverse techniques, are included among the hundreds of textiles unwrapped from these bundles. The techniques, imagery, and construction of some of these garments overlap with examples from Ocucaje, but the textiles from the Wari Kayan Necropolis are often bigger, brighter, or more intensively patterned.

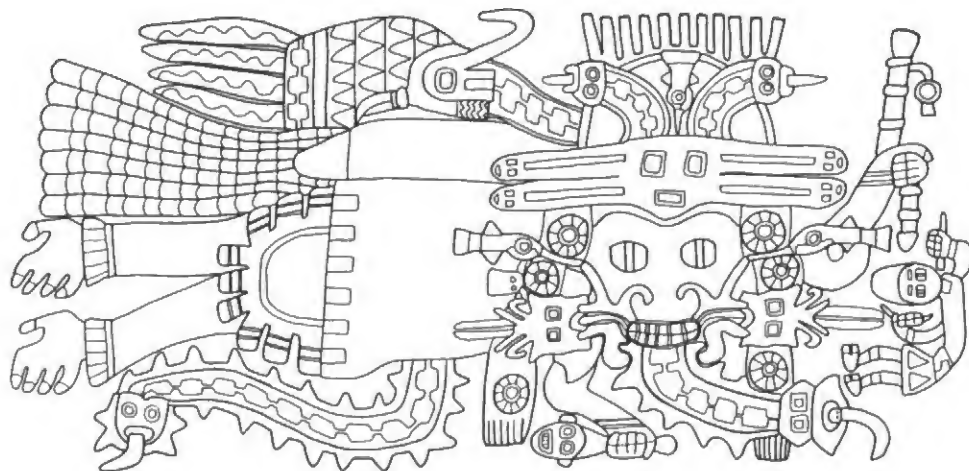
Embroidered mantles in the linear style (fig. 3) are prominent at Wari Kayan, occurring as the outer decorated textile on a number of bundles. The vivid red and navy combination and the figure repetitions in the central field of this mantle and the matching neck poncho (fig. 4) are not unusual. Birds are double-headed—a split-profile representation with the beaks facing outward—and multiple figures are shown in outline, nestled one within the other. Serpents, birds, felines, humans, and composites also appear in this style, usually in several postures each.

A more curvilinear style with solid color areas, called the block-color style, is well represented among the embroidered mantles (fig. 8) and other garments, such as skirts and headcloths (checklist 13, 14). Garment sets, comprised of mantles, tunics or neck ponchos, skirts or loincloths, headcloths or head-

bands, or a less complete combination of the above, are found in some bundles. They may or may not match exactly in all details of color or stylization of figures, and occasionally very similar pieces occur in different bundles. The backward-bent figure appears on textiles from numerous large bundles, either alone or as a secondary figure attached to a larger one (fig. 9).

accompanied by a new variety of embroidery, a double-faced interlocking stem stitch, which produces a clear image on both sides of the fabric. This embroidery stitch is found in Nasca textiles, and its presence on the Necropolis garments indicates that textiles made by Nasca people are included in the bundles at Wari Kayan.⁶

Fig. 5



A more complex version of the block-color style, showing figures with borrowed animal traits of foot form or posture wearing elaborate costumes and ornaments and sprouting serpentine appendages occurs in the later bundles from the Wari Kayan Necropolis (figs. 5, 6). Innovative features in border, central band, tab, and field layout are sometimes

The Wari Kayan Necropolis was abandoned shortly after textiles in this style were included as offerings in the funerary bundles. Perhaps the locus of important ritual switched to Cahuachi, a ceremonial site in the Nasca homeland that became increasingly prominent with the ascendance of the Nasca people over other groups on the south coast.

Fig. 6



Funerary Bundles at Ocucaje

A rare excavated burial from Ocucaje has an open-work gauze mantle covering the conical bundle and originally had a painted “false face” draped over the top.⁷ The false face (checklist 6) is a distinctive feature of Ocucaje funerary bundles and has not been recorded at other sites. The bundle had a fan-like plume for a headdress and a short feathered staff on the chest. The bundle was placed by itself in a dugout chamber with walls of layered clay and straw and a roof of algarroba wood beams overlaid with leaves and finally with soil to the level of the ground. A second disinterment at Ocucaje, recorded in a photograph, shows a conical bundle with a false face and feathered headdress just after it was removed from a ceramic urn, another manner in which people were buried at Ocucaje. A cache of miniature and small garments (checklist 7–9) placed in a woven bag along with a trophy head that has a carrying cord attached through the perforated skull is known to come from an Ocucaje urn burial.⁸ The practice of including miniature garments of several sizes along with funerary bundles, which is common at the Wari Kayan Necropolis, occurs at Ocucaje as well.



Fig. 7

Funerary Bundles at Wari Kayan Necropolis

The large funerary bundles from the Wari Kayan Necropolis have both a consistency in their construction and a diversity in particular offerings.⁹ The corpse, nearly naked, is flexed and bound then seated in a basket lined with deerskin. A few adornments, such as ankle, wrist, or neck circlets, a loin-cloth, or a headdress, may be put directly on the body. A gourd bowl, sometimes retaining traces of food, is held near the chin in a netted bag. Small pieces of hammered gold, or sometimes kernels of maize, are put in the mouth or nostrils, and cotton fiber is put in the eyes or over the face. Folded textiles, slings, and packets containing food, pigments, masticated leaves, or miniature ornaments and garments are tucked in and around the flexed body. Large plain cloths are wrapped around the body and basket and bunched into a topknot wrapped with a headband, the first in a series of false heads. Embroidered garments, most of them appearing new or even unfinished, are added to the bundle. The interior layers of the bundle often have apparel that would be worn next to the skin: skirts or loincloths as well as head and torso coverings. Some of these garments, including many of the neck ponchos, are smaller than adult-sized. These fabrics are packed around the growing bundle, folded or placed, increasing the bulk (fig. 10). Another layer of large plain wrapping cloths encircles the bundle and is

fashioned into a false head. Several more layers—alternately decorated textiles interspersed with food and small offerings and plain wrapping cloths—are added. The largest garments—mantles and sometimes tunics and giant turbans—are in the final decorated layer. Feather fans, feathered or pelt headdresses, and wands, batons, or even weapons are also included in this penultimate layer. A final layer of huge plain cloths is wrapped around and stitched in place.

The Transformation and Growth of the Ancestors

The imagery on the embroidered textiles and the construction of the large bundles tell us something of the ancient ideas and rituals surrounding burials at Wari Kayan. An important class of imagery depicting a backward-bent figure with skeletal ribs and streaming hair (figs. 8, 9) focuses on what might be the moment of death, which may have been conceived of more as a transfer point to another life cycle. The extraordinary posture—unbalanced and vulnerable—and the skeletal attributes have fascinated scholars, who have variously described the figure as dancing, trancing, falling, floating, flying, or drowning, while agreeing on its association with death. Often, two variants of the figure alternate on a single cloth (fig. 9), one with a semicircular feather fan on a swollen chest and the other with a shrunken torso and upraised fan. Some depictions

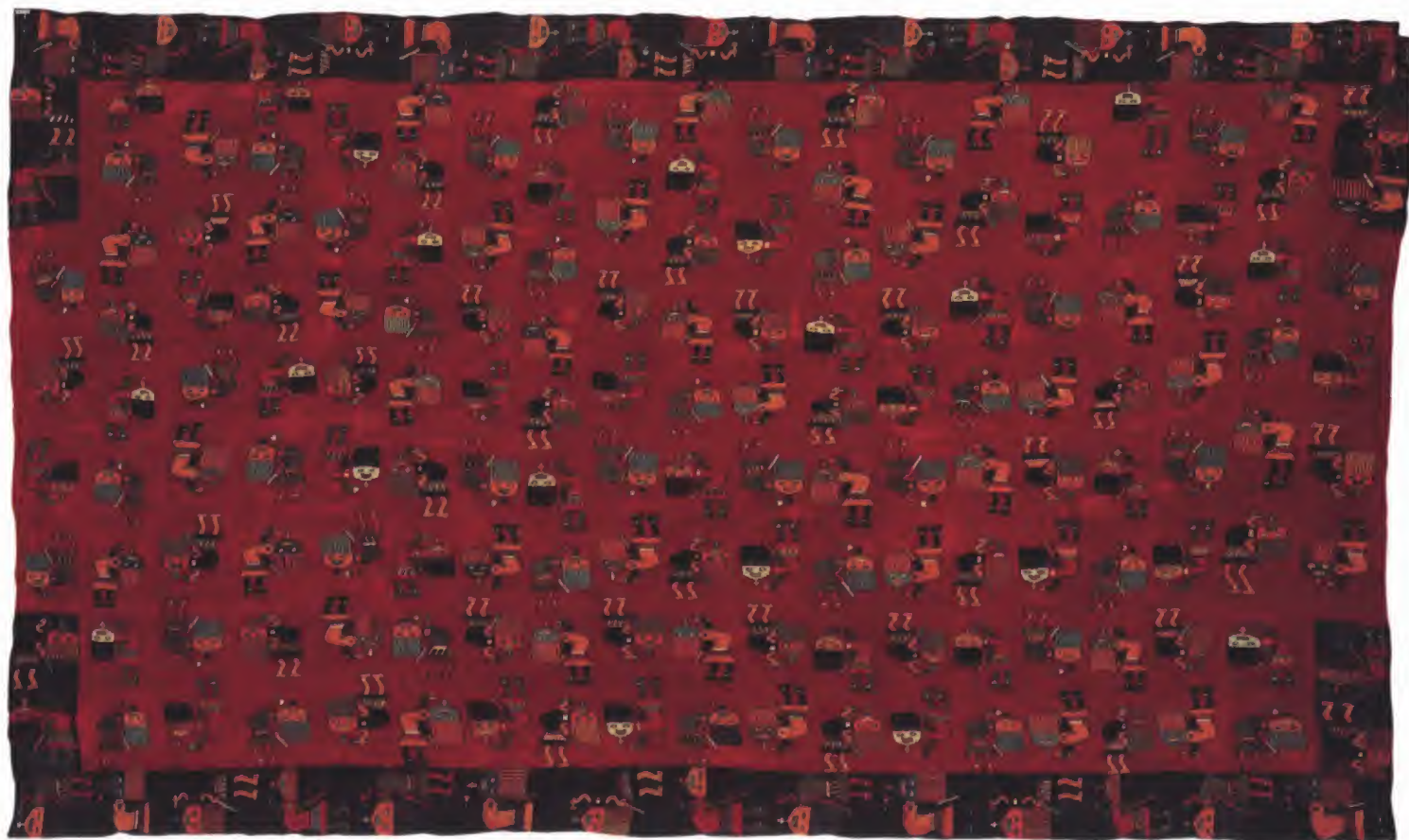


Fig. 8

are more explicit: the swollen chest has a hole in it, and the fan, resembling a heart, is being pulled out before being raised in a triumphant salute.¹⁰ The paired figures, before and after the autosacrificial act, may be a conventional treatment of death or a reference to the transition between earthly life and incarnation as an ancestor.

As a secondary element, the backward-bent figure is shown being consumed by richly attired figures or hanging, shapeless, like a flayed skin, from a head-dress. The separation of impermanent flesh from enduring bone may be another stage in the transformation cycle. Many variants of the backward-bent figure occur, but generally it shares features with the corpse in the bundle—its state of near nakedness, its loose hair, its circlets at neck, wrist, and ankles, and its skeletal ribs.

Implicit in the construction of the large bundles are traces of ideas relating to the growth of the interred. A parallel cycle of earthly life stages, from infancy to full growth, is indicated for the effigy/ancestor in the bundle, who is supplied with different sizes of clothes, from miniatures (checklist 7, 8, 9), to small and adult-sized garments, to truly gigantic mantles, tunics, and turbans. Miniatures, such as gold ornaments, slings, feathered fans, and ceramics, as well as the incrementally layered structure of the bundle and the inclusion of food, reiterate the idea of the

Fig. 9



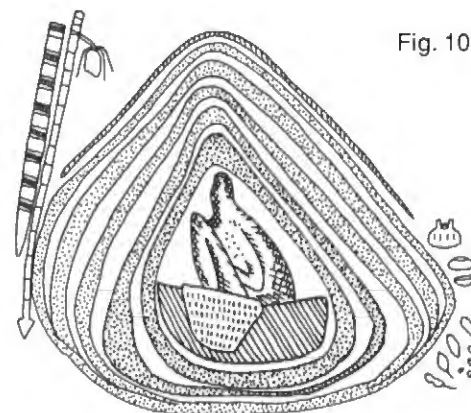
stages of growth of the corpse. The nourishment of the growing bundle, even during its construction, is indicated by the differential deterioration of the plain wrapping cloths on the upper side, a feature that suggests organic material was poured over it. The process of constructing the funerary bundle appears to duplicate a life cycle, compressing the feeding and clothing of the interred at various growth stages into an effigy of the resplendently transformed ancestor.

Seeds and Fertile Bones: Metaphoric Alternates

The pervasive metaphor of plant growth, from seed to reproductively mature plant, reverberates in the bundle preparation and site arrangement at the Necropolis of Wari Kayan. The corpse, with its boney essence of incipient growth, is at the center of the seed-shaped funerary bundle. Like the plant offerings of tubers, maize, peanuts, and beans that accompany bundles, the corpse is placed in a basket and covered with cloth. The bundle is “fed and fertilized” with liquid libations and food during construction and eventually “planted,” or buried, in the earth. Continued “feeding” may be indicated by the hundreds of small funerary bundles with very few offerings that are buried around or above the large bundles in the two confined “beds” of the Wari Kayan Necropolis. The conceptual association between seeds and bones is made vivid in one elaborate bundle that had at its

core, not the expected skeleton, but a twelve-kilo sack of black beans.¹¹ The parallels suggest that the rituals surrounding the burials were replicating agricultural activities.¹²

The embroidered imagery includes many depictions of figures with beanlike bodies carrying beans or other plants¹³ or sprouting appendages from orifices, chests, or necks. Often the sprouting appendages simultaneously allude to growth shoots of plants, fertilizing fluids of the body, and umbilicuslike connectors to smaller figures. Many figures with appendages are part-human, part-animal and wear the same types of garments and ornaments included in the bundles (fig. 5). These are images of a transformed, fully mature ancestor, the equivalent of the completed funerary bundle.



Conclusion

The mantle, modeled on a man's cloak or outer garment, is the large canvas on which the people of the south coast of Peru wove and embroidered detailed expressions of their beliefs some two thousand years ago. In life the mantles might have had a ceremonial use, while in death they played a significant part in funerary rituals. Used to wrap the dead, the mantles and the garments associated with them may have been made specifically as offerings for the bundles in which they were placed. There they may have functioned as symbolic clothes for the deceased in its incarnation as an ancestor.

Ocucaje and Wari Kayan, the two sites represented here, illustrate these funerary customs differently. The few published burials from Ocucaje are believable as single interments of locally important people, and the large collections of Ocucaje textiles with questionable grave associations¹⁴ might be construed similarly. The Wari Kayan Necropolis, in contrast, appears to be the site of a ritual that included burial. More than four hundred bundles of varying sizes, crowded together in two precincts, contain cloth that is richly decorated in several styles and presumably made by peoples with distinct artistic traditions. The mixture of textile styles within some

bundles, as well as the bundle size and wealth of decorated cloth, suggests a ritual on a grand scale, using tribute cloth from groups with different artistic traditions. If the elaborate construction of the large bundles took place on the peninsula, supervised by priests living in the limited habitation area nearby, cloth may have been assembled beforehand through exacted tribute or offered by groups attending the ritual.

The plant-growth parallels to bundle construction, embroidered imagery, and the arrangement of the bundles at the site suggest that the burial ritual at the Wari Kayan Necropolis specifically connected agricultural productivity with the cycle of human transformation. The peninsular location of Wari Kayan, partway up the dominant hill and looking northward over the curving bay, has the natural requisites of a ceremonial site. The majesty of the red-hued hill called Cerro Colorado and the austere vista of sand, sea, and sky are fitting for important propitiations—not only for the transformation of the dead but also for the agricultural prosperity of the people living in the arid environment of the south coast.

Mary Frame

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. The absolute dates adopted here follow those proposed by Paul (1991, pp. 8–10, fig. 1.3), who reviews alternative and supporting schemes used by other scholars.
2. The traditions of the south coast have been studied more thoroughly through ceramics (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964). See Silverman 1991 (especially figs. 9.1, 9.2) for a recent synthesis of south coast archaeology, and Peters n.d. for an extended treatment of interacting south coast traditions.
3. Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964, p. 261.
4. The terms for describing embroidery styles at Wari Kayan Necropolis (linear, broad line, and block color) are reviewed in Paul 1990, pp. 65–76. Several other embroidery styles or hybrids, tentatively called silhouette and silhouette infill, are present at both Ocucaje and Wari Kayan.
5. Tello 1959; and Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979.

6. Rowe (1991, pp. 107–9, 121–22) has noted some Wari Kayan Necropolis specimens that are Nasca in style, imagery, or technique, attributing their presence to influence or trade. Kajitani (1982, pls. 37–39) also recognizes the presence of Nasca textiles in the Wari Kayan bundles. Using Anne Paul's Paracas slide archive at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., and other sources, I have located further examples of Nasca techniques, design formats, and imagery present in the bundles.

7. Information from Max Uhle's original notes and sketches of Burial 1, Site H, Ocucaje and photos taken by Pablo Soldi, discussed and reproduced in Dawson 1979, figs. 14–17. Although there are many textiles and ceramics from Ocucaje in museums, there is little information on the excavation or unwrapping of bundles.

8. King 1965, table 9, no. 185.

9. The following general description is synthesized from published accounts (see Daggett 1994 for bibliography) as well as collections and unpublished material studied in museums, libraries, and archives (Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología y Historia, Lima; Museo Regional de Ica, Peru; American Museum of Natural History, New York; Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.).

10. In Wari Kayan mantle no. 49-41 a pair of backward-bent figures is depicted as extracting a fan/heart from a hole in the chest; see Lavalley and Lang 1983, p. 79.

11. Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979, pp. 489–92.

12. Salomon (1995) finds the vegetative metaphor pervasive in Andean mortuary complexes.

13. Peters 1991, pp. 292–303.

14. King 1965, pp. 545–67.

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Checklist

1. Panel from Painted Mantle (fig. 7)
Ica Valley, probably Ocucaje
3rd century B.C.
Cotton; plain weave, painted freehand
21 x 70½ in. (53.5 x 178.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection
Purchase, Nelson A. Rockefeller Gift, 1960
(1978.412.55)
2. Mantle
Probably Ica Valley, Ocucaje?
3rd–2nd century B.C.
Wool (camelid fiber); triple cloth bands
sewn together
72 x 36 in. (183 x 91.4 cm)
Private collection
3. Funerary Mask
Pisco Valley
2nd–1st century B.C.
Ceramic; incised with post-fired paint
H. 11¾ in. (30 cm); d. 8 in. (20.5 cm)
Anonymous loan
4. Openwork Mantle (fig. 1)
Ica Valley, Ocucaje
2nd–1st century B.C.
Wool (camelid fiber); sprang technique
54½ x 74⅞ in. (138.5 x 189 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Gift of Rosetta and Louis Slavitz, 1986
(1986.488.1)
5. Openwork Hood
Ica Valley, Ocucaje
2nd–1st century B.C.
Wool (camelid fiber); sprang technique
13 x 27⅞ in. (33 x 69 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/5982)
6. False Face for Funerary Bundle
Ica Valley, Ocucaje
1st century B.C.
Cotton; plain weave, painted freehand
15½ x 9 in. (39.4 x 22.9 cm)
Anonymous loan

7. Miniature Mantle from Urn Burial
Ica Valley, Ocucaje (Cerro Uhle)
1st century B.C.
Cotton, wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery
5½ x 6¾ in. (14 x 16 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/6046)
8. Miniature Shirt from Urn Burial
Ica Valley, Ocucaje (Cerro Uhle)
1st century B.C.
Cotton, wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery
4 x 5¼ in. (10.2 x 13.3 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/6049)
9. Miniature Mantle from Urn Burial
Ica Valley, Ocucaje (Cerro Uhle)
1st century B.C.
Cotton; plain weave with added fringe
12 x 12 in. (30.5 x 30.5 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/6045)
10. Mantle from Funerary Bundle (fig. 3)
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.
Wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in satin, stem, and running stitches
53½ x 93 in. (136 x 236.2 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/632)
11. Neck Poncho (fig. 4)
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.
Wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in satin, stem, and running stitches
28 x 20⅞ in. (71 x 53 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.2/633)
12. Mantle from Funerary Bundle (fig. 8)
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st century A.D.
Wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in stem stitch
56½ x 95½ in. (143.5 x 242.6 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
William A. Paine Fund (31.501)

13. Wraparound Skirt
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st century A.D.
Wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in stem stitch
16½ x 109¾ in. (41.9 x 279 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
William A. Paine Fund (31.502)
14. Headcloth or Turban
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st century A.D.
Wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in stem stitch
85 x 15¾ in. (216 x 39 cm)
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich
15. Mantle Border Fragment (fig. 9)
Paracas Peninsula, Wari Kayan Necropolis
1st–2nd century A.D.
Cotton, wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with embroidery in stem stitch
41⅜ x 6¾ in. (105 x 17 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993
(1994.35.120)
16. Mantle (fig. 6)
Probably Paracas Peninsula,
Wari Kayan Necropolis?
2nd century A.D.
Cotton, wool (camelid fiber); plain weave with single- and double-faced embroidery in stem stitch
52½ x 106¼ in. (133.5 x 270 cm)
American Museum of Natural History, New York
(41.0/1501)

Figures

1. Mantle showing masked figures with semierect animal bodies. The tongue goes upward, as if the head were thrown back. (Checklist 4)
2. The unwrapping of funerary bundle no. 114 from the Wari Kayan Necropolis revealed an embroidered mantle draped over the “shoulders” and a feathered fan on the “heart.”
3. Mantle with double-headed birds, nestled one within the other, embroidered in the linear style. (Checklist 10)
4. Neck poncho of same color and pattern as mantle in figure 3. (Checklist 11)
5. Drawing of part-human, part-animal figure with appendages from central band of figure 6.
6. Embroidered mantle with central band, tabs, and compact field pattern. The field pattern is embroidered in double-faced interlocking stem stitch, a Nasca embroidery technique. (Checklist 16)

7. Detail from a mantle painted with stylized animals with both feline and serpentine features. (Checklist 1)
8. Mantle embroidered with backward-bent figures with skeletal ribs. This figure shares attributes with the deceased at the center of the bundle. (Checklist 12)
9. Detail of a mantle border with a pair of backward-bent figures—one with swollen chest, the other with shrunken torso. (Checklist 15)
10. Cross-section diagram of a large bundle from the Wari Kayan Necropolis showing layering of garments and offerings around the body of the deceased.

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Figure 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 2. Courtesy Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History, New York, neg. no. 2A 7351

Figures 3, 4. Courtesy Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History, New York

Figure 5. Drawing by Mary Frame

Figure 6. Courtesy Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History, New York

Figure 7. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 8. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, courtesy William A. Paine Fund

Figure 9. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 10. Redrawn from Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979, p. 504

